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VOX POPVLI

OR

NEWES FROM SPAYNE,

translated according to the Spaniſh coppie.

Which may ſerve to forwarn both England and the Vnited Provinces how farre to truſt to Spaniſh pretences.

SCOTT, Th.

Thomas Scott

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HIs Catholique Majeſtie had given cõmandement that preſently upon the return of Seigneur Gondomar his Leiger Embaſſador from England, (1618) a ſpeciall meting of all the principal States of Spaine (who were of his Counſel) together with the Preſidents of the Counſel of Caſtile, of Arragon, of Italy, of Portugall, of the Indies, of the Treaſure, of Warre, and eſpecially of the holy Inquiſitiõ, ſhould be held at Mouſon in Arragon, the Duke of Lerma being appointed Preſident, Who ſhould make declaration of his Majeſties pleaſure, take account of the Ambaſſadors ſervice, and conſult touching the ſtate and religion reſpectively, to giue ſatisfaction to his holynes Nuntio, who was deſired to make one in this aſſembly concerning certaine overtures of peace and amitie with the Engliſh and other Catholike proiects, which might ingender ſuſpition and jealouſie betwixt the Pope & his Maieſtie, if the miſtery were not unfolded and the grond of thoſe counſels diſcovered aforehand.

This made all men expect the Embaſſadours returne with a kinde of longing, that they might behold the iſſue of this meeting, and ſee what good for the Catholike cauſe the Embaſſadors imployment had effected in England, anſwerable to the generall opinion conceived of his wiſdome, and what further proiect would be ſet on foot to become matter for publike diſcourſe.

At length he arrived and had preſent notice given him from his Majeſtie, that before he came to Court he ſhould give up his account to his aſſemblie. Which command he gladly received as an earneſt of his acceptable ſervice, and gave thanks that for his honour he might publiſh himſelf in ſo judicious a preſence.

He came firſt upon the day appointed to the Counſell chamber (exc. the Secr.) not long after all the Counſell of ſtate and the Preſidents met, there wanted onely the Duke of Lerma & the

the Popes Nuntio, who were the head and feet of all the assemblie. These twoo stayed long away for divers respects, The Nuntio that he might expresse the greatnesse of his master, & loose the sea of Rome no respect by his oversight, but that the benches might be full to observe him at his approach.

The Duke of Lerma to expresse the authoritie & dignitie of his owne person, and to shew houw a servant put in place of his master, exacts more service of his fellow servants then the master himselfe. These two stayed till all the rest were weary of wayting, but at length the Nuntio (supposing all the Counsel set) launched forth and came to roade in the Counsel chamber, where (after mutuall discharge of duetie from the company and blessing upon it from him) he sate downe in solemne silence, grieving at his oversight when he saw the Duke of Lerma absent, with whom he strove as a competitor for Pompe and Glorie.

The Duke had sent before, and understood of the Nuntios being there, and stayed something the longer that his boldnesse might be observed, wherein he had his desire; for the Nuntio having a while patiently driven away the time with severall complements to severall persons, had now almost run his courtship out of breath, but that the Duke of Villa Hermosa (president of the counsel of Arragon) fed his humor by the discharge of his owne discontentment, upon occasion of the Duke of Lerma his absence, and beckned Seigneur Gondomor to him, using this speech in the hearing of the Nuntio after a sporting manner:

How unhappie are the people where you have been, first for their soules, being heretiques; then for their estates, where the name of a favourite is so familiar? how happie is our state, where the keyes of life and death are so easily come by, (poynting at the Nuntio) hanging at every religious girdle, and wher the doore of justice and mercie stand equally open to all men without respect of persons? the Embassador knew this Ironicall stroke, to be intended as a by blow at the Nuntio, but fully at the Duke of Lerma (whose greatnes begā now to wax heavy, towards declension) and therfore he returned this answer: your excellencie knoweth the state is happie where wise favorites governe

governe Kings if the Kings themſelves be fooliſh, or where wiſe Kings are, who having favorites, whether fooliſh or of the wiſer ſort, will not yet be governed by them. The ſtate of England, (howſoever you heare of it in Spayne or Roome) is too happie in the laſt kinde: They neede nor much care what the favorite be (though for the moſt part he be ſuch as prevents all ſuſpition in that kinde, being rather choſen as a ſcholler to be taught and trained up, then as a tutor to teach,) of this they are ſure, no Prince exceeds theirs in perſonall abilities; ſo that nothing could be added to him in my wiſh, but this one, that he were our vaſſayle and a Catholique.

With that the noyſe without gave notice of the Duke of Lermas entrance, at whoſe firſt approch the whole houſe aroſe, though ſome later then other, as envie had hung plummets on them to keep them downe, the Nuntio onely ſate unmooved, the Duke cheriſhed the obeyſance of the reſt with a familiar kind of carriage too high for courteſie, as one not neglecting their demeanors but expecting it, and after a filiall obeyſance to the Pope his Nuntio, ſate down, as preſident vnder the cloath of ſtate, but ſomewhat lower; then after a ſpace given for admiration, preparation, and attention, he began to ſpeake in this manner:

The King my maſter (holding it more honourable to doe then to diſcourſe, to take from you the expectation of Oratorie, uſed rather in ſchooles and pulpits then in Councels) hath appointed me preſident in this holy, wiſe, learned, and noble aſſembly; A man naturally of a ſlow ſpeach, and not deſirous to quicken it by art or induſtrie, as holding action onely proper to a Spaniard as I am by birth, to a ſouldier as I am by profeſſion, to a King as I am by repreſentation; take this therefore briefly for declaration both of the cauſe of this meeting and my maſter his further pleaſure.

There hath bene in al times frō the worlds foūdatiō one chiefe commander or Monarch upon the earth. This needs no further profe thē a bak loking into our own memories & hiſtories of the world, neither now is there any queſtiō (except with infidels & heritiques) of that one chief cōmander in ſpirituals in the unity

of whoſe perſon the members of the viſible Church are includ-
ded, but there is ſome doubt of the chief cõmander in tempo-
ralls, who (as the moon to the ſun) might govern by night as
this by day, & by the ſword of iuſtice compell to come in, or
cutt off ſuch as infringe the authoritie of the keyes. This hath
been ſo well underſtood long ſince, by the infallible chaire, as
that thereby upon declenſion of the Romane Emperours, and
the increaſe of Romes ſpirituall ſplendor (who thought it un-
naturall that their ſun ſhould be ſublunary) our nation was by
the Biſhop of Rome ſelected before other peoples to conquer
and rule the nations with a rod of Iron, and our Kings to that
end adorned with the title of Catholike King, as a name aboue
all names under the ſunne (which is) under Gods Vicar generall
himſelfe the Catholike Biſhop of ſoules. To inſtance this point
by compariſon, looke firſt upon the grand Seigneur the great
Turk who hath a large title, but not univerſall. For beſides that
he is an infidell, his command is confined within his owne
territories, and he ſtyled not Emperour of the world, but of the
Turks and their vaſſals onely.

Among Chriſtians, the defender of the faith was a glorious
ſtile, whilſt the King to whom it was given by his holynes, con-
tinued worthy of it. But he ſtood not in the truth, neither yet
thoſe that ſucceed him. And beſide it was no great thing to be
called what every Chriſtiã ought to be, defender of the faith; no
more then to be ſtiled with France, the moſt Chriſtian King,
wherein he hath the greateſt part of his title commõ with moſt
Chriſtians. The Emperour of Ruſſia, Rome, Germany, extend
not their limits further then their ſtiles, which are locall, onely
my maſter the moſt Catholike King is for dominion of bodies,
as the univerſall Biſhop for dominiõ of ſoules ouer all that part
of the world which we call America (except where the Engliſh
intruders uſurp) and the greateſt part of Europe, with ſome part
of Aſia and Africa by actual poſſeſſiõ, & over al the reſt by real &
indubitable right, yet acknowledgeth this right to be derived
frõ the free and fatherly donation of his holynes, who as the ſun
to this moon lends luſter by reflection to this Kingdom, to this
King, to this King of Kings my maſter, what therefore he hath,
howſoever gottẽ, he may keep and hold. What he can get from
any

any other King or Cõmander by any ſtratageme of war or pretence of peace he may take. For it is theirs onely by uſurpation except they hold of him from whom all civill power is derived, as eccleſiaſticall from his holynes. What the ignorant call treaſon, if it be on this behalf is truth; & what they call truth, if it be againſt him is treaſon: & thus all our peace, our warre, our treatiſes, mariages, and whatſoever intendement elſe of ours, aimes at this principall end, to get the whole poſſeſſion of the world, and to reduce all to unitie under one temporall head, that our King may truly be what he is ſtiled, the catholick and univerſal King. As faith is therfore univerſal & the Church univerſal, yet ſo as it is under one head the Pope, whoſe ſeate is & muſt neceſſarily be at Rome where S. Peter ſate: ſo muſt all men be ſubject to our and their Catholique King, whoſe particular ſeat is here in Spayne, his univerſall euery where; this point of State or rather of faith, we ſee the Romane Catholike religion hath taught every where, and almoſt made naturall, ſo that by a key of gold by intelligence, or by way of confeſſion my maſter is able to unlock the ſecrets of every Prince, and to withdraw their ſubjects allegiance, as if they knewe themſelves rather my maſter his ſubjects indeed, then theirs whom their birthes have taught to miſcall Soveraignes. We ſee this in France and in England eſpecially, where at once they learne to obey the Church of Rome as their mother, to acknowledge the catholique King as their father, and to hate their owne King as an heretique and an uſurper. So we ſee Religion and the State are coupled together, laugh and weep, flouriſh and fade, and participate of eithers fortune, as growing upon one ſtock of policy; I ſpeake this the more boldly in this preſence, becauſe I ſpeake here before none but native perſons, who are partakers both in themſelves and iſſues of theſe triumphs aboue all thoſe of ancient Rome, & therefore ſuch (as beſides their oathes) it concernes to be ſecret. Neyther need we reſtrain this freedome of ſpeach from the Nuntio his preſence, becauſe that beſides that he is a Spaniard by birth, he is alſo a Ieſuite by profeſſion, an order raiſed by the providence of Gods Vicar to accompliſh this monarchy the better, all of them being appropriate thereunto, and as publicke agents and privie Counſellers to this end. Wherein the wiſe-

dome

dome of this ſtate is to be beheld with admiration, that as in temporall warre it employes or at leaſt truſts none but natives, in Caſtile, Portugall or Arragon; ſo in ſpirituals it employes none but the Ieſuites, and ſo imployes them, that they are generally reputed, how remote ſoever they be from us, how much ſoever obliged to others, ſtill to be ours, and ſtill to be of the Spaniſh faction, though they be Polonians, Engliſh, French, & reſiding in thoſe countries & Courts; the penitents therfore and all with whom they deale and converſe in their ſpirituall traffique muſt needs be ſo too, and ſo our Catholique King muſt need's have an inviſible kingdome, & an unknowne number of ſubiects in all dominions, who will ſhew themſelves and their faiths by their works of diſobedience whenſoever we ſhall have occaſion to vſe that Ieſuiticall vertue of theirs. This therefore being the principal ends of all our counſels (according to thoſe holy directions of our late pious King Philip 2. to his ſonne now reviving) to advance the Catholike Romane religion, and the catholike Spaniſh dominion together, we are met now by his Majeſties commaund to take account of you (Seigneur Gondomor) who haue been Embaſſodour for England, to ſee what good you haue effected there towards the advancement of this worke, & what further project ſhall be thought fit to be ſet on foot to this end. And this is briefly the occaſion of our meeting.

Then the Embaſſ. (who attended bare headed all the time) with a low obeiſance began thus. This moſt laudable cuſtome of our Kings in bringing all officers to ſuch an account where a review and notice is taken of good or bad ſervices upon the determination of their imployments, reſembles thoſe Romane triumphs appointed for the ſouldiers; and as in them it provoked to courage, ſo in us it ſtirres up to diligence. Our maſter converſeth by his Agents with all the world, yet with none of more regard then the Engliſh, where matter of ſuch diverſitie is often preſented (through the ſeverall humours of the State, and thoſe of our religion and faction) that no inſtrnctions can be ſufficient for ſuch negotiations, but much muſt be left in truſt, to the diſcretion, judgment and diligence of the incumbent. I ſpeake not this for my owne glory, I having bee reſtrayned

ſtrayned and therfore deſerved meanly) but to forewarne on the behalf of others, that ther may be more ſcope alowed thē to deal in as occaſion ſhall require. Briefly this rule delivered by his excellency was the card and Compas by which I ſayled to make profit of al humors, and by all meanes to advance the ſtate of the Romiſh faith, and the Spaniſh faction togither, upō all advantage eyther of oathes, or the breach of thē; for this is an old obſervation but a true, that for our pietie to Rome, his holynes did not onely give, but bleſſe us in the conqueſt of the new world, And thus in our pious perſeverance we hope ſtil to be conquerours of the old. And to this end wheras his excellentie in his excellent diſcourſe, ſeemes to extend our outward forces & private aimes onely againſt heretiques and reſtraine them in true amitie with theſe of the Romiſh religion: This I affirme, that ſince there cā be no ſecurity, but ſuch princes though now Romiſh Catholiques, may turne heretiques hereafter; my aimes haue ever been to make profit of all, & to make my maſter, maſter of al, who is a faithful & conſtant ſonne of his mother Rome. And to this end I behold the endevours of our Kings of happy memorie, hovv they haue achieved kingdomes and conqueſts by this policy, rather thē by opē hoſtility, and that without difference, as wel from their allies and kinsfolks, men of the ſame religion, and profeſſion, ſuch as were thoſe of Naples, France and Navar, though I doe not mētion Portugall now united to us, nor Savoy (that hardly ſlipt frō us) as of an adverſe and heretical faith. Neyther is this rule left of, as the preſent kingdome of France, the State of Venice, the Low-countries, Bohemia, (now al labouring for life under our plots) apparantly manifeſt. This way therfore I bent my engins in England, as your honours ſhal particularly heare. Neyther ſhal I need to repeat a Catalogue of all the ſervices I haue there done, becauſe this ſtate hath been acquainted with many of them here to fore by the intercourſe of letters and meſſengers. Thoſe onely I will ſpeak of that are of later edition, done ſince the returne of the Lord Roſſe frō hence, and may ſeeme moſt directly to tēd to thoſe ends formerly propounded by his Excellentie; that is, the advancement of the Spaniſh State and Romiſh Religion togither.

Firſt it is well obſerved by the wiſdome of our State, that, the King of England, who otherwiſe is one of the moſt accõpliſht Princes that ever raign'd, extreamly hunts after peace, and ſo affects the true name of a Peacemaker, as that for it he wil doe or ſuffer any thing. And withall they have behold the generall bountie & munificence of his minde, and the neceſſity of the ſtate ſo exhauſted, as it is unable to ſupply his deſires, who onely ſeeks to haue that he might giue to others. Vpon thoſe advantages they have given out their directions and inſtructions both to me and others, and I haue obſerved thẽ ſo farre as I was able.

And for this purpoſe, wheras there was a marriage propounded betwixt them and us, (howſoever I ſuppoſe our State too devout to deale with heretiques in this kinde in good earneſt, yet) I made that a cover for much intelligence, and a meanes to obtaine whatſoever I deſired, whileſt the State of England longed after that mariage, hopeing thereby (though vainely) to ſettle peace, and fill the Excheaqur.e

Here the Arch Biſhop of *Toledo*, Inquiſitor generall ſtept up and interrupted Gondamor, ſaying, that maryage was not to be thought vpõ; firſt for religions ſake, leſt they ſhould indanger the ſoule of the younge Lady and the reſt of her company, who might become hereticks: ſecondly for the ſtate, leſt by giving ſo large a portion to heretiques they ſhould inrich and inable them for warres, & impoveriſh and weaken the Catholiques.

To the firſt objection the Popes Nuntio anſwered, that his holynes for the Catholique cauſe would diſpenſe with the marriage, though it were with a Turke or infidel. 1. That there was no valuable danger in hazarding one for the gaining of many, perhaps of all. 2. That it was no hazard, ſince women (eſpetially yong ones) are to obſtinate to be removed from their opinions, and abler to worke Solomon to their opinions, then Solomon to work them to his faith. 3. That it was a great advantage to match wich ſuch from whom they might break at pleaſure, having the catholique cauſe for a colour, and beſides, if need were to be at liberty in all reſpects ſince there was no faith to be kept with heretiques. And if his Holynes may diſpẽce with

with the murther of such, & dispose of their crownes (as what good Catholique doubts but he may?) much more may he, and wil he in their mariages to prevent the leprous seed of heresie, and to settle Catholique blood in the chaire of State.

To the second obiection the Ambassadour himselfe answered, saying, that though the English generally loathed the matche, and would as he thought buy it off with halfe of their estates, (hating the nation of Spain, and their religion, as appeared by an uproare and assault a day or two before his departure from London by the Apprentices, who seemed greedy of such an occasion to vent their owne spleenes, in doing him or any of his a mischiefe) yet two sorts of people unmeasurably desired the match might proceed. First the begging and beggarly Courtyers, that they might haue to furnish their wants. Secondly the Romish Catholiques, who hoped hereby at least for a moderation of fynes, and lawes, perhaps a tolleraaion, and perhaps a total restauration of their religion in England. In which regard (quoth he) I haue knowne some zealous persons protest, that if al their friendes and halfe their estates could procure thē the service of our Lady (if she came to be maried too their Prince) they would freely use the meanes: faithfully to fight under her colours, when they might doe it safely. And if it came to portion, they would underhand contribute largely of their estates to the Spanish Collector, and make up halfe the portion out of themselves, perhaps more. So that by this mariage it might be so wrought, that the state should rather be robd and weakened (which is our ayme) then strengthened, as the English vainely hope. Besides in a small tyme they should worke so far into the body of the State, by buying Offices and the like, whether by sea or land, of Iustice civil or ecclesiastical, in Church or State (all being for money exposed to sale) that with the helpe of the Iesuites, they would undermine them with meere wit (without gunpowder) and leave the King but a fewe subiects whose faithes hee might rely upon, whilst they were of a faith adverse to his. For what catholique body that is sound at the hart, can abide a corrupt and heretical head?

With that the *Duke, Medina del rio Seco*, president of the

councel of warr and one of the councel of State roſe up and ſayd his Predeceſſors had felt the force and wit of the Engliſh in 88. And he had cauſe to doubt the Catholiques themſelves that were Engliſh and not fully Ieſuited, upon any forreigne invaſion would rather take part with their owne King (though a heretique) then with his Catholique Majeſtie a ſtranger.

The Ambaſſadour deſired him to be of another minde ſince firſt for the perſons generally their bodies by long diſuſe of armes vvere diſabled and their mindes effeminated by peace and luxury, far from that they were in 88. when they were dayly fleſht in our blood and made hearty by cuſtomary conqueſts. And for the affectiō of thoſe whom they call Recuſants (quoth hee) I know the bitternes of their inveterate malice, & haue ſeē ſo farr into their natures as I dare ſay they will be for Spaine againſt all the world. Yet (quoth hee) I aſſure your Honours I could not imagine ſo baſely of their King and State as I haue heard them ſpeake. Nay their rage hath ſo perverted their judgements that what I my ſelf haue ſeen and heard proceed from their King beyond admiration, even to aſtoniſhmēt, they haue ſlighted, miſreported, ſcorned, and perverted to his diſgrace and my reioycing, magnifying in the meane time our defects, for graces.

Here the *Duke Paſtrana* preſident of the Councell for Italy, ſteps up and ſayd, he had lately read a booke of one Camdens called his Annalles, where writing of a treaty of mariage long ſince betwixt the Engliſh *Elizabeth* & the french Duke of *Andiou*, he there obſerves that the mariage vvas not ſeriouſly intēded on eyther ſide, but politickly pretended by both States, counterchangeably, that each might effect their owne ends.

There (quoth he) the English had the better, and I haue ſome cauſe to doubt, ſince they can diſſemble as vvel as wee, that they haue their aymes underhand, as we haue, and intend the match as little as we doe; And this (quoth he) I beleeue the rather becauſe their King as he is wiſe to conſult and conſider, ſo he is a conſtant maſter of his word, and hath written and given ſtrong reaſons againſt matches made vvith perſons of contrary religions, which reaſons no other man can anſwere, and therefore doubtleſſe he wil not go from or conncell his ſonne to forſa-

to forsake those rules layd down so deliberately.

Your Excellency mistakes (quoth the Ambassadour) the advantage was thē one the side of the English, because the Frēch sought the match: now it must be on ours, because the English seeck it, who will grant any thing rather thē breake off, and besides haue no patience to temporize and dissemble in this or any other disigne as the French haue long since wel obserued: for their necessities will giue them neither time, nor rest, nor hope els where to be supplyed. As for their King I cannot search into his hart, I must beleeve others that presume to know his minde, heare his words, and read his writings, and these relate vvhat I haue deliuered: But for the rest of the people as the number of those that are truely religious are ever the least and for the most part of least accompt, so is it there, where if an equall opposition be made betwixt their truely religious and ours, the remainder which wilbe the greatest number will stand indifferent and fall to the strōger side where there is most hope of gaine and glorie, for those two are the gods of the magnitude & the multitude, Novv these see apparantly no certain supplyes of their wants but from us.

Yes (quoth the *Duke*) for euen now you sayd the general state loathing this match vvould redeme the feare there of with half of their estates. It is therefore but calling a Parliament and the busines were soon effected.

A Parliament (quoth the Ambassadour) nay therein lies one of the principal sevices I haue done in working such a dislike betwixt the King and the lower house by the endeuor of that honourable Earle and admirable Engine (a sure servant to us and the catholike cause while he lived) as the King will never indure Parliament againe, but rather suffer absolute want then receive conditionall relief from his subjects. Besides the matter was so cunningly caried the last Parliament, that as in the powder plot the fact effected should haue been imputed to the Puritans (the greatest zelots of the Calvinian sect) so the proposition which damde up the proceedings of this Parliamēt howsoeuer they were invēted by Romane Catholiques and by thē intēded to disturbe that session, yet were propounded in favor of the Puritans, as if they had beē hāmered in their forge.

Which very name and ſhadovv the King hates, it being a ſufficien aſpertiõ to diſgrace any perſon, to ſay he is ſuch, & a ſufficient barre to ſtop any ſuite & vtterly to croſſe it to ſay it ſmels of or inclines to that partie. Mareover there are ſo many about him who blovv this cole fearing their owne ſtakes, if a Parliament ſhould inquire into their actions, that they uſe all their ãt and induſtrie to withſtãd ſuch a councell; perſwading the King he may rule by his abſolute prerogative without a Parliament, and thus furniſh himſelf by warying with us, and by other domeſtick projects, without ſubſidies: when, levving of ſubſidies and taskes have been the onely uſe princes haue made of ſuch aſſemblies. And wheras ſome free mindes amõgſt thé reſembling our Nobilitie who preſerve the priviledge of ſubjects againſt ſoveraign invaſion, call for the courſe of the common lavve, (a lawe proper to their nation) theſe other tyme ſervers cry the lawes down and cry up the prerogative, wherby they prey upon the ſubject by ſuites and exactions, milk the eſtate and keep it poore, procure themſelves much ſuſpition amõgſt the better & more judicious ſort, & hate amõgſt th'oppreſſed commons, & yet if there ſhould be a Parliament ſuch a courſe is taken as they ſhal never chooſe their ſheere Knights and Burgeſſes freely, who make the greater half of the body thereof, for theſe being to be elected by moſt voices of Freeholders in the countrey where ſuch elections are to be made, are caried which vvay the great perſons vvho haue lands in thoſe countries pleaſe, who by their letters command their tenants, followers and friends to nominate ſuch as adhere to them, and for the moſt part are of our factiõ, and reſpect their owne benefit or grace rather then their countries good, yea the countrey people themſelves will every one ſtand for the great man their Lord or neighbour, or maſter, vvithout regard of his honeſty, wiſdome, or religion. That which they ayme at (as I am aſſured of by faithful intelligence) is to pleaſe their lãdlords & to renue their leaſe, in which regard they will betray their Countrey and religion too, & elect any man that may moſt profite their particular. Therefore it is unlikely there ſhould ever be a Parliament, & impoſſible the Kings debts ſhould be payd, his vvants ſufficiently repaired, and himſelfe left

left ful handed by ſuch a courſe, & indeed as it is generally thought) by any other courſe but by a mariage with us. For which cauſe whatſoever proiect we liſt to attẽpt, enters ſafely at that dore, vvhilſt their politie lies a ſleepe and will not ſee the danger, I haue made triall of theſe particulars, and found few exceptions in this generall rule.

There by I and their ovvne wants togither haue kept them from furniſhing their Navy, which being the wal of their Iland, & once the ſtrongeſt in Chriſtendome lies now at roade unarmed & fit for ruine. If ever vve doubted their ſtrength by ſea, now vve need not, there are but few ſhips or men able to looke abroad or to live in a ſtorme, much leſſe in a ſea fight. This I effected by bearing them in hand the furniſhing a Navy bred ſuſpition in my maſter & ſo would avert his mind from this match, the hope of vvhich rather then they would looſe, they would looſe almoſt their hope of heaven.

Secondly all their voyages to the Eaſt Indies I permit rather vvith a colourable reſiſtance then a ſerious. Becauſe I ſee them not helpful but hurtfull to the ſtate in generall, carying out gould and ſilver bringing home ſpece, ſilks, feathers, and the like toyes, and inſenſible waſting the common ſtock of coyne and bullyon, whilſt it fills the Cuſtome houſe and ſome private purſes. who thereby are inable to keep this diſcommodity on foot by bribes; eſpecially ſo many great perſons (even Stateſmen) being venturers and ſharers in the gaine. Beſides this waſteth their Mariners, not one often returning. Which I am glad to heare, for they are the men vve ſtand in feare of.

3. As for their Weſt indian voyages, I withſtand them in earnſt becauſe they begin to inhabit there and to fortifie themſelves; and may in tyme there perhaps raiſe an other England to withſtand our new Spaine in America, as this old England oppoſeth our preſent State, and cloudes the glorious extent therof in Europe. Beſides there they trade for commodities vvithout waſt of their treaſure, & often returne gould for knives, glaſies, or the like trifles, and that without ſuch loſſe of their Mariners as in other places. Therefore I croſt vvhatſoever intendements were projected for Virginea or the Bermudas; becauſe I ſee they may be hereafter really helpe full unto them,

them, as novv they ſerve for draines to unloade their populous State, which elſe would overflow its own bancks by continuance of peace, and turne head upon it ſelf or make a body fit for any rebellion.

And ſo farre I prevayled herein, as I cauſed moſt of the Recuſants vvho were ſharers to withdraw their venters & diſcourage the vvork, ſo that beſides private perſons unable to effect much, nothing was done by the publike purſe. And we know by experience ſuch voyages and plantations are not effected without great meanes to ſuſtaine great difficulties, and with an unwearied reſolution and power, to meete al hazards and diſaſters with ſtrong helpes and continuall ſupplies, or elſe the undertaking proues idle.

4. Fourthly. By this meanes likevviſe I kept the voluntary forces from Venice, till it vvas almoſt too late to ſet out. And had a hope that work of ſeacrecy ſhould haue broken forth to action, before theſe could haue arrived to ſuccour them.

5. Fiftly, I put hard for the Cautionary tovvnes (which our late King Philip of happy memory ſo aymed at, accounting thē the keyes of the low Countries) that they might be delivered to his Catholike Majeſtie as the proper owner. And had perhaps preuayled, but that the profeſt enemy to our State and Church, vvho dyed ſhortly after, gave counſell to reſtore them to the rebellious States; as one that knew Pouillar Common wealthes to be better neighbours, ſurer friends, and leſſe daungerous enemyes, thā Monarchies; and ſo by his practiſe reſcued them from my handes, and furniſhed the Excheaquer from thence for that tyme. Neyther vvas I much greeved at this; becauſe the Dependancy they had before of the Engliſh ſeemed novv to be cut off, and the intereſt the Engliſh had in thē and their cauſe to be taken avvay; vvhich muſt be fully and finally effected before we can hope eyther to conquer them or England, who holding togither are too ſtrong for the world at ſea, & therefore muſt be diſunited, before they can be overcome. This point of State is acknowledged by our moſt experienced Petioner and ſure friund *Monſieur Barnevelt*, vvhoſe ſucceeding plots to this end, ſhall beare witnes for the depth of his judgement.

6. But

6. But the laſt ſervice I did for the State, was not the leaſt; when I underwrought that admirable Engine *Raleigh*, and ſo was the cauſe his voyage (threatning ſo much daunger and domage to us) was overthrowne, and himſelfe returning in diſgrace, I purſued almoſt to death, neither (I hope) need I ſay almoſt, if all things hit right, and all ſtrings hold. But the determination of my commiſſion, vvould not permit me longer to ſtay to follow him to execution, vvhich I deſired the rather, that by conceſſion I might haue vvrung from the inconſiderate Engliſh, an acknowledgement of my maſters right in thoſe places, puniſhing him for attempting there, though they might preſcribe for the firſt foot, And this I did to ſtop their mouthes hereafter, and becauſe I would quench the heate and valour of that nation, that none ſhould dare hereafter to undertake the like, or be ſo hardy as to looke at our ſea, or breathe upon our Coaſtes. And laſtly becauſe I would bring to an ignominious death, that old *Pyrat*, who is one of the laſt now living, bred under that deceaſed Engliſh *Virago*, and by her fleſht in our blood and ruine. To doe this I had many Agents, firſt divers Courtiers who were hungrie and gaped wide for Spaniſh gould; ſecondly ſome that bare him at the heart for inveterate quarrels; Thirdly ſome forreigners who having in vaine ſought the *Elixer* hitherto, hope to finde it in his head; Fourthly all mē of the Romiſh faith who are of the Spaniſh faction, and would haue been my bloodhounds, to hunt him or any ſuch to death willingly, as perſons hating the proſperitie of their Country, and the valour, worth, and wit of their owne nation, in reſpect of us and our Catholike cauſe; Laſtly I left behinde mee ſuch an inſtrument compoſed artificially of a ſecular underſtanding and a religious profeſſion, as hee is every way adicted to ſerue himſelfe into the cloſet of the heart, and to worke upon feminine lenity, who in that county haue maſculine ſpirits to command and purſue their plots unto death. This therefore I accompt as done, and rejoyce in it, knowing it will be very profitable to us, gratefull to our faction there; and for the reſt, what though it be croſſe to the people, or the Clergie? we that onely negotiate for our owne gaine, and treate about this mariage for our owne ends, can conclude or breake off when we ſee our

time, without reſpect of ſuch as can neither profit us, nor hurt us; for I haue certaine knowledge that the commons generally are ſo effeminate and cowardly, as that they at their muſters (which are ſeldome and ſlight, onely for the benefit of their muſter-maſter) of a thouſand ſouldiers, ſcarce one hundred dare diſcharge a musket, and of that hundred, ſcarce one can uſe it like a ſouldier. And for their armes, they are ſo ill prouided, that one corſelet ſerueth many men, when ſuch as ſhew their armes upon one day in one place, lend them to their frēds in other places to ſhew when they haue uſe. And this if it be ſpied, is only puniſhed by a mulct in the purſe, which is the officers aime, who for his advantage winkes at the reſt, and is glad to finde and cheriſh by connivence profitable faults which increaſe his revenue. Thus ſtands the ſtate of that poore miſerable country, which had never more people and fewer men. So that if my maſter ſhould reſolve upon an invaſion, the time never fits as at this preſent, ſecuritie of this mariage and the diſuſe of armes having caſt them into a dead ſleepe, a ſtrong and wakening faction being ever amongſt them ready to aſſiſt us, and they being unprovided of ſhippes and armes, or hearts to fight, an univerſall diſcontentment filling all men. This I haue from their muſter-maſters and Captaines, who are many of them of our religion, or of none, and ſo ours, ready to be bought and ſould, and deſirous to be my maſters ſervants in fee.

Thus much for the ſtate particularly, wherein I haue bent my ſelfe to weaken them and ſtrengthen us, & in all theſe haue advanced the Catholicke cauſe, but eſpecially in procuring favours for all ſuch as favour that ſide, and croſſing the other by all meanes. And this I practiſe my ſelfe & give out to be generally practiſed by others, that whatſoever ſucceſſe I finde, I ſtill boaſt of the victory, which I doe to diſhearten the heretiques, to make them ſuſpitious one of another, eſpecially of their Prince and their beſt Stateſmen, and to keepe our owne in courage, who by this meanes increaſe, otherwiſe would be in danger to decay.

Now for religion, and for ſuch deſignes as fetch their pretence from thence, I beheld the policie of that late Biſhop of theirs (*Bancroft*) who ſtird up and maintained a dangerous

ſchiſme,

ſchiſme, betweene our ſecular Prieſts and Ieſuites, by which he diſcovered much weaknes, to the diſhonour of our clergie, and preiudice of our cauſe. This taught me (as it did *Barnevelt* in the Low countries) to worke ſecretly and inſenſibly betweene their Conformiſts and Non-conformiſts, and to caſt an eye as far as the Orcades; knowing that buſynes might be ſtirred up there, that might hinder proceedings in England, as the French ever uſed Scotland to call home the forces of England, and ſo to prevent their conqueſts. The effect you haue partly ſeene in the Earle of *Argile*, who ſometimes was Captaine for the King and Church againſt the great Marquis *Huntley*, and now fights under our banner at *Bruxels*, leaving the croſſes of S. George & S. Andrewe for the ſtaffe of S. Iames. Neither doe our hopes end here, but we daily expect more revolters, at leaſt ſuch a diſunion as wil never admit ſolid reconcilemẽt, but will ſend ſome to us, and ſome to Amſterdam. For the King (a wiſe and vigilant Prince) labouring for a perfect union betwixt both the kingdomes, which he ſees cannot be effected, where the leaſt ceremony in religion is continued, divers ſharp and bitter braules from thence ariſing, whilſt ſome ſtriving for honour more then for truth, prefer their owne way & wil, before the general peace of the Church & the edification of ſoules) he I ſay ſeekes to worke both Churches to uniformitie, and to this end made a journey into Scotland, but with no ſuch ſucceſſe as he expected, for divers of ours attended the traine, who ſtirred up humors and factions, and caſt in ſcruples and doubts to hinder & croſſe the proceedings; yea thoſe that ſeeme moſt adverſe to us and adverſe from our opinions, by their diſobedience and example helpe forward our plots, and theſe are incouraged by a factious and heady multitude, by a faint and irreſolute clergie, (many falſe brethrẽ being amõgſt their Bps.) & by the prodigal Nobilitie who maintaine theſe ſtirs in the Church, that thereby they may ſafely keepe their Church-livings in their hands, which they haue moſt ſacrilegiouſly ſeaſed upon in the time of the firſt deformation, & which they feare would be recovered by the Clergy if they could be brought to brotherly peace & agrement; for they haue ſeene the King very bountiful in this kind, hauing lately increaſed their pẽſiõs & ſetled the clergy a cõpetẽt

maintenance,& beſides out of his owne meanes vvhich in that kingdome is none of the greateſt,having brought in and reſtored whole Biſhopriks to the Church, which were before in laymens hands, a great part of the Nobilities eſtates conſiſting of ſpirituall lands, vvhich makes them cheriſh the puritanicall faction, who will be content to be trencher-fed with ſcraps and crummes and contributions and arbitrary benevolences from their Lords and Lairds and Ladies, and their adherents and followers.

But (quoth the Inquiſitor generall) how if this act of the Kings, wherein hee is moſt earneſt and conſtant, ſhould ſo far thrive,as it ſhould effect a perfect union both in the Church & Commonwealth? I tell you it would in my conceite be a great blow to us, if by a generall meeting a generall peace ſhould be concluded,and all their forces bent againſt Rome; and we ſee their politick King aimes at this.

True (quoth *Gondamore*) but he takes his marke amiſſe,howſoever hee underſtand the people and their inclination better then any man,and better knowes how to temper their paſſions and affections; for (beſides that he is hindred there in Scotland underhand by ſome for the reaſons before recited, and by other great ones of ours,who are in great place & authoritie amongſt them) hee is likewiſe deluded in this point even by his owne Clergie at home in England, who pretend to be moſt forward in the cauſe. For they conſidering if a generall uniformitie were wroughr,what an inundation would follow, whilſt all or moſt of theirs (as they feare) would flock thither for preferment (as men preſſing towards the ſunne for light and heate) and ſo their owne ſhould be unprovided; theſe therefore(I ſay) howſoever they beare the King fairly in hand,are underhand againſt it,and ſtand ſtiffe for all ceremonies to be obtruded with a kind of abſolute neceſſitie upon them, when the other will not be almoſt drawne to receiue any. When if an abatement were made, doubtleſſe they might be drawne to meete in the middeſt;but there is no hope of this with them,where neither party deales ſeriouſly, but onely for the preſent to ſatisfie the King: and ſo there is no feare on our ſide,that affections and opinions ſo divers,will ever be reconciled and made one. Their Biſhop

of S.

of *S. Andreeves* ſtands almoſt alone in the cauſe, and puls upon himſelf the labour, the loſſe and the envie of all, with little proficiencie, whilſt the adverſe faction haue as ſure friends and as good intelligence about the King as he hath, and the ſame Poſt perhaps that brings a packet from the King to him, brings another from their Abbettors to them, acquainting them with the whole proceedings and counſels, & preparing them aforehand for oppoſition: this I know for truth, and this I reioyce in, as conducing much to the Catholick good.

But (quoth the Nuntio) are there none of the heretical preachers buſie about this match? Me thinkes their fingers ſhould itch to be writing and their tongues burn to be prating of this buſyneſſe, eſpecially the puritanicall ſort, howſoever the moſt temperate and indifferent cary themſelves.

The truth is my Lord (quoth the *Ambaſſadour*) that privately what they can, and publiquely what they dare, both in England & Scotland, all for the moſt part (except ſuch as are of our faith) oppoſe this match to their utmoſt, by prayers, counſels, ſpeeches, wiſhes; but if any be found longer tongued then his fellowes, we haue ſtill meanes to charme their ſawcineſſe, to ſilence them, and expell them the Court, to diſgrace them and croſſe their preferments, with the imputation pragmaticke Puritaniſme. For inſtance I will relate this particlar; A Doctor of theirs and a Chaplaine in ordinary to the King, gaue many reaſons in a letter againſt this mariage, and propounded a way how to ſupply the Kings wants otherwiſe, which I underſtanding, ſo wrought underhand, that the Doctor was committed, and hardly eſcaped the danger of his preſumptuous admonition, though the ſtate knew his intent was honeſt, and his reaſons good. Wherein wee on the other ſide, (both here and with the *Arch Duke*) haue had bookes penned, and pictures printed, directly againſt their King and ſtate, for which their Ambaſſadours haue ſought ſatisfaction of us in vaine, not being able to ſtay the print, or ſo much as to touch the hem of the Authors garment. But wee haue an evaſion, which hereticks miſſe, our Clergie being freed from the temporall ſword, and ſo not included in our treaties and conditions of peace, but at libertie to give any hereticall Prince the Mate when

they list: whereas theirs are liable to accompt and hazard,& are muzled for barking, when ours may both barke and bite too. The Councell table and the ſtar-Chamber do ſo terrifie them, as they dare not riot, but run at the ſtirrop in excellent cõmãd, and come in at the leaſt rebuke. They call their preaching in many places ſtanding up, but they crouch and dare not ſtand up nor queſt, behaue thẽſelves like Setters, ſilent and creeping upon their bellies, licke the duſt which our Prieſts ſhake from their beautifull feete.

Now (quoth the Duke of *Lerma*) ſatisfie me about our owne Clergie how they fare. For there were here Petitions made to the King in the name of the diſtreſſed, afflicted, perſecuted and impriſoned Prieſts, that his Maieſtie would intercede for them, to free them from the intollerable burdens they groned under, and to procure their liberties: and letters were directed from us to that end, that you ſhould negotiate this demand with all ſpeed and diligence.

Moſt excellent Prince (replyed *Gondamore*) I did your command with a kind of command my ſelfe; not thinking it fit to make it a ſuite in your name or my Maſters, I obtained them libertie to walke freely up and downe, to face and outface their accuſers, Iudges, Magiſtrates, Biſhops, and to exerciſe their functions almoſt as freely altogether as ſafely as at Rome.

Here the Nuntio obiected, that he did not well to his iudgement in procuring their libertie, ſince they might doe more good in priſon then abroad. Becauſe in priſon they ſeemed to be under perſecution, and ſo were pittied of others; and pittie of the perſon, prepares the affection further. Beſides, then they were careful over their owne lives to give no offence: but abroade they might be ſcandalous in their lives, as they uſe to be in *Rome* and *Spaine*, and other Catholik countreys; and ſo the opinion of their holyneſſe which upholds their credit and cauſe (againſt the maried Clergie) would ſoone decay.

But the Ambaſſador replyed, he conſidered thoſe inconveniences, but beſides a ſuperior command, he ſaw the profit of their libertie more then of their reſtraint. For now they might freely confer, and were ever practiſing, and would doubtleſſe produce ſome worke of wonder. And beſides by reaſon of

their

their authoritie and meanes to change places, did apply themselves to many persons; wheras in prison they onely could deale with such as came to be taught, or were their owne before. And this (quoth he) I adde as a secret, that as before they were maintained by private contributions of devout Catholiques even to excesse, so much more now shall they be able to gather great summes, to weaken the State, and furnish them for some high attempt, by the example of Cardinall *Woolsey* barrelling up gold for *Rome*. And this they may easily doe, since all Catholiques rob the hereticall Priests, and withhold tythes from them by fraud or force, to give to those of their owne to whom it is properly due. And if this be spied, it is an easie matter to lay all upon the *Hollander*, and say, he caries the coyne out of the land (who are forward enough indeed, in such practises) and so ours shall not onely be excused, but a flawe made betwixt them to weaken their amities, & beget suspition betwixt them of each others loue.

But amongst all these priests (quoth the Inquisitor generall) did you remember that old, reverend, father Baldwin, who had a finger in that admirable attempt made on our behalfe against the Parliament house? such as he deserving so highly, adventuring their lives so resolutely for the Catholique cause, must not be neglected, but extraordinarily regarded, thereby to incourage others to the like holy undertakings.

Holy father (quoth *Gondamor*) my principall care was of him, whose life and libertie when I had with much difficultie obtained of the King, I solemnly went in person, attended with all my traine, and divers other well willers to fetch him out of the Tower where he was in durance. Assoone as I came in his sight I behaved my selfe after so lowly & hũble a maner, that our adversaries stood amazed to behold the reverence we give to our ghostly fathers. And this I did to confound them & their contemptuous Clergie, and to beget an extraordinary opinion of holinesse in the person, & pietie in us, and also to prouoke the English Catholiques to the like devout obediencie, and thereby at any time these Iesuites (whose authoritie was somewhat weakened since the schisme betwixt them and the Seculars, and the succeeding powder-plot) may vvorke them

to

to our ends, as Maſters their ſervants, Tutors their ſchollers, fathers their children, Kings their ſubiects. And that they may doe this the more boldly and ſecurely, I haue ſomewhat daſht the authoritie of their high Cómiſſion; upon which whereas there are diverſe Purſevants (men of the worſt kinde and condition, reſembling our Flies and Familiars, attending upon the inquiſition) whoſe office and imployment it is to diſturbe the Catholiques, ſearch their houſes for *Prieſts*, holy veſtments, bookes, beades, crucifixes, and the like religious appurtenances, I haue cauſed the execution of their office to be ſlackned, that ſo an open way may be given to our ſpirituall inſtruments for the free exerciſe of their faculties. And yet when theſe *Purſevants* had greateſt authoritie, a ſmall bribe in the Countrey would blinde their eyes, or a little greater at Court or in the Excheaquer fruſtrate and croſſe all their actions, ſo that their malice went off like ſquibs, made a great crack to fright childrē and new borne babes, but hurt no old men of Catholique ſpirits. And this is the effect of all other their courſes of proceeding in this kinde, in all their iudiciall Courts, whither knowne catholiques (convicted as they ſtile them) are often ſummond and cited, threatned and bound over, but the danger is paſt aſſoon as the officer hath his fee payd to him, then the execution goeth no further. Nay upon my conſcience they are glad when there are offenders in that kinde, becauſe they are bountifull: and the officers doe their beſt to favour them, that they may increaſe, and ſo their revenue and gaine come in freely.

And if they ſhould be ſent to priſon, even that place (for the moſt part) is made as a Sanctuary to them: as the old Romanes were wont to ſhut vp ſuch by way of reſtreint, as they meant to preſerve from the peoples fury; ſo they liue ſafe in priſon till we haue time to worke their libertie and aſſure their lives. And in the meane time their place of reſtraint is as a ſtudy unto them, where they haue opportunitie to confer together as in a Colledge, and to arme themſelves in unity againſt the ſingle adverſary abroad.

But (quoth the Inquiſitor generall) how doe they for bookes, when they haue occaſion either to write or diſpute?

My Lord, (replyes *Gondamor*) all the Libraries belonging to the

the Romane Catholiques through the land are at their command, from whence they haue all ſuch collections as they can require gathered to their hand, aſwell from thence as from all the Libraries of both Vniverſities, and even the bookes themſelves if that be requiſite.

Beſides I haue made it a principall part of my imployment, to buy all the manuſcripts & other ancient and rare Authours out of the hands of the Heretiques, ſo that there is no great Scholler dies in the land, but my Agents are dealing with his bookes. In ſo much as even their learned *Iſaack Cauſabons* library was in election without queſtion to be ours, had not their Vigilant King (who foreſees all dangers, and hath his eye buſie in every place) prevented my plot. For after the death of that great ſcholler, I ſent to requeſt a view & catalogue of his bookes with their price, intending not to be out-vyed by any man, if mony would fetch them; becauſe (beſides the damage that ſide ſhould haue received by their loſſe, proſecuting the ſame ſtory againſt Cardinall *Baronius*) we might haue made good advantage of his notes, collections, caſtigations, cenſures and criticiſmes for our owne party, and framed and put out others under his name at our pleaſure. But this was foreſeene by their *Prometheus*, who ſent that *Torturer* of ours (the Biſhop of *VVincheſter*) to ſearch and ſort the papers, and to ſeale vp the ſtudy: Giving a large and princely allowance for them to the *Relicks* of *Cauſabon*, together with a bountifull penſion & proviſion for her and hers. But this plot fayling at that time, hath not ever done ſo. Nor had the Vniverſitie of *Oxford* ſo triumphed in their many manuſcripts given by that famous Knight S. *Thomas Bodly*, if eyther I had been then imployed, or this courſe of mine then thought upon; for I would labour what I might this way or any other way to diſarme them, and eyther to tranſlate their beſt authours hither, or at leaſt to leave none in the hands of any but Romane Catholiques who are aſſuredly ours. And to this end an eſpeciall eye would be had upon the Library of one S. *Robert Cotton* (an ingroſſer of Antiquities) that whenſoever it come to be broken up (eyther before his death or after) the moſt choice and ſingular pieces might be gleaned and gathered up, by a Catholique hand. Neyther let

any man thinke, that descending thus low to pettie particulars is unworthy an Ambassadour, or of small avayle for the ends we ayme at, since we see every mountayne consists of severall sands; and there is no more profitable conversing for Statesmen then amōgst schollers & their books, specially where the King for whom we watch is the King of Schollers, and loves to live almost altogether in their element. Besides if by any meanes we can continue differences in their Church, or make them wider, or beget distaste betwixt their Clergy and commō Lawyer, who are men of greatest power in the land, the benefit will be ours, the consequence great, opening a way for us to come in betvveene; for personall quarrels produce reall questions.

As he was further prosecuting this discourse, one of the Secretaries (who wayted without the chamber) desired entrance; and being admitted, delivered letters vvhich he had newly received from a Post directed to the President and the rest of the Councell from his Catholike master, the contents whereof were to this effect.

Right trusty & vvelbeloved Cousens and Counsellors, we greete you well: Wheras we had a hope by our Agents in England and Germany, to effect that great worke of the Westerne Empire; and likewise on the other side to surprize Venice, and so incircling Europe at one instāt, & infolding it in our armes, make the easier roade upon the Turke in Asia, and at length reduce all the world to our catholique commaund. And whereas to these holy ends vve had secret and sure plots and projects on foote in all those places, and good intelligence in all Courts;

Know now that we haue received late and sad newes of the apprehension of our most trusty and able Pensioner *Barnevelt*, and of the discovery of other our intendements; so that our hopes are for the present adjourned till some other more convenient and auspicuous time. We therefore will you presently upon sight hereof, to breake off our consultation, and repaire straight to our presence, there to take further directions, and proceed as the necessity of time & cause should require.

With that his Excellencie and the whole house strook with amaze-

amazement, croſt their foreheads, roſe up in ſad ſilence, and brake off this Treaty abruptly, and vvithout tarriance tooke horſe and poſted to Courte.

From vvhence expect newes the next fayre vvinde.

In the meane tyme, Let not thoſe be ſecure, vvhom it concernes to be rouvſed up, knowing that this aſpiring Nebuchadnezzar wil not looſe the glorie of his greatnes, (who continueth ſtill to magnifie himſelfe in his great Babel,) untill it be ſpoken, thy kingdome is departed from thee.

Dan. 4.